564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Énad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amẽnokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 426 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [824] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily
302 dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. [412] They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed [824] to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593 276] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [98] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. [412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they [515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. [751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

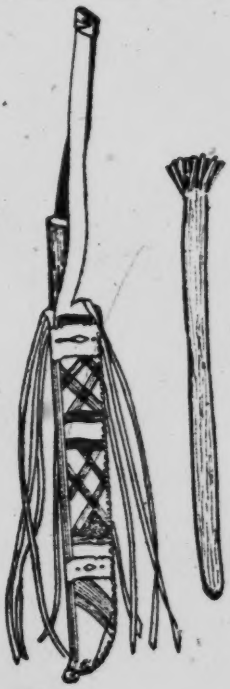

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They [412] [53] [212] do not take any particular care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 75 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [777] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase [439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 731] The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course, there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium [361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention smallpox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in the Ahaggar. [751] When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of [771] contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men [756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekellé<u>ou</u>.

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [581] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among [228] the Tuareg. They maintain 777 that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 [751] If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [857] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con- [562] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

302 Tuareg women sometimes plaster their foreheads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or charcoal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up
● [751] gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings,
291 especially on gala occasions.
439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 [439] Tuareg attach considerable importance to indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The ●[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up [515] to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been [554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic [147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

754 /113 cont./ women chase it, beating the air with scarves and reciting secret words. They act as if they were madwomen.

The borbor is incorporated into couscous, which, it is said, may be turned with a hand taken from a dead person, but I have had few confirmations of that practice. The borbor is administered by throwing it in the path the victim should take, if it is impossible to make him eat it.

Whether intended as philter or poison, borbor differs very little in its composition; only the quantities must differ.

When a woman wishes the death of a rival, she has another process at her disposition. Having managed to obtain some menstrual blood of the enemy, she goes to a taleb /public scribe/ who specializes in magic; the latter wraps the blood in a paper or rag on which he writes sacred words; he then throws the package into a permanent séguia /irrigation canal/. As long as the seguia flows, the blood of the rival will flow, and she will die of this hemorrhage.

There is an antidote for borbor called "bottal," a blackish substance that one throws on embers and whose emanations counteract the effects of borbor.

824 754 Two plants must be mentioned here which, without being fatal, cause momentary insanity, according to the Tuareg: first, "afeleleh" ("bettina" in Arabic), black henbane, (the antidote consists of gulping down camel meat or, better, /114/ camel fat); second, "bourzig," taken by women who want to gain weight, but which taken in strong doses induces temporary madness during which the victim spouts out an endless succession of words which she does not remember later.

754 Magic operations are most varied, and everyone can expect each day to be the victim of them. The Negroes are haunted by this fear; the Tuareg do not seem to be worried [751] by these magic maneuvers. However, everyone wears "tera," protective charms issued by the taleb; thus the Moslem religion, more or less deformed, fights against magic or, sometimes, collaborates with it.

844 /119 cont./ advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 853 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 751 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defenseless prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

Izeggaren (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Harratin* (sing. *Hartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

291 301 565 751

Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehli* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

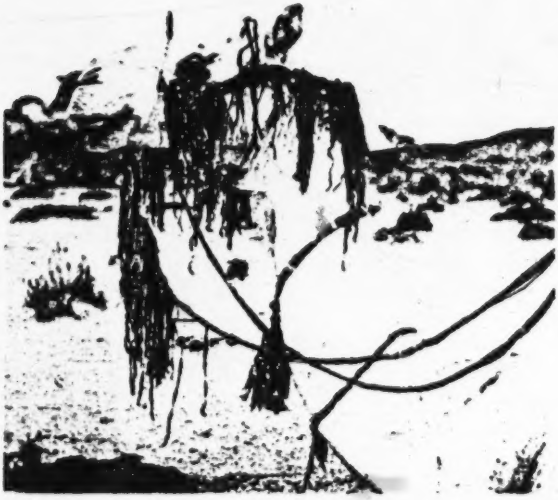

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*takawt*) with a brass bell (*anayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehld* tribe.

camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring (*tigemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the blacksmiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tigemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Blacksmiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Fulani M511

The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the *Massif* in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *chanya*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *chanya*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poision their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*tehereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehot* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *elima* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ayata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ayata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi-tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelbaḍ n ayata*) made from the skin of the big *ayata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelbaḍ n timerweli*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḥarratin* at Taṛhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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by blacksmiths (*Inesḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*ameywan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*aktulal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

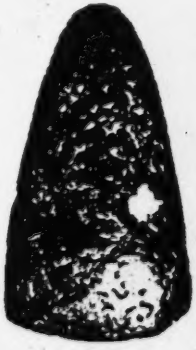

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tedeft n ejenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aghak-en-tekki* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 189).

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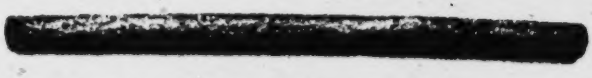

Fig. 200. Néolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amejwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

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The pottery made in Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

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In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]